Conversation No. 706-1

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: 9:41 am - 10:09 am
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Henry A. Kissinger.

Kissinger's parents
- Comments on previous meeting with the President

Democrats
- Edmund S. Muskie
- George S. McGovern

Soviet Union
- Message to Kissinger

White House staff
- Public talking points
  - Meeting with Kissinger
  - Herbert G. Klein
  - Julie Nixon Eisenhower and Tricia Nixon Cox
  - The President's outline
    - Kissinger's additions

Soviet Union
- The President's trip
  - Stopover in Poland
    - Invitation
      - Polish Ambassador
    - Announcement
    - Publicity
    - Vietnam
      - B-52 strikes

Vietnam
- Air strikes
  - B-52 raids
    - North Vietnamese accounts to its public
      - Withholding of knowledge
      - Reasons
The President's schedule
- Meetings with Kissinger
  - Time
  - Washington Special Action Group [WSAG] meeting

The President's Canadian trip
- Mention of Soviets

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Response
    - Importance
  - Weapons
    - Soviet knowledge
    - Uses in South Vietnam
- Military Region One
  - Army of the Republic of Vietnam [ARVN] counter-attacks
- The President’s call to Alexander M. Haig, Jr., April 10, 1972
- Resupply efforts
- South Vietnam
  - Nguyen Van Thieu
  - Movement of tanks and troops
  - Twenty-first division
- An loc
  - B-52 strike
    - North Vietnamese losses
- US actions
  - Concentration of power
    - Haig
- II Corps and I Corps
  - Air strikes
    - B-3
    - Haig
  - Concentration of forces
    - Gen. George S. Patton, Jr.
    - Gen. Omar N. Bradley
-Gen. Bernard L. Montgomery
-Military Region One
-Attacks over Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
-North Vietnamese retreat
  -Compared with Laotian operation
  -Air strikes
-Naval gunfire
  -Cruiser
    -Destruction of tanks
  -Guns
    -Size
    -Range
    -Secondary explosions
  -Destruction
    -Tanks
    -Number
-Military Region Three
-Setbacks
  -Ammunition dump
    -Saigon
    -Replacement of ammunition
-Dong Ha
  -North Vietnamese casualties
-Air strikes
  -B-52s
    -Psychological impact on North Vietnam
    -Number
    -Increase
-Carriers
-US policy
-News reports
  -Jerry W. Friedheim
  -Ground forces
    -Withdrawal
  -The President's news summary
  -*New York Times* and *Washington Post*
  -*Newsweek*
  -*Time*
  -*Newsweek*
    -Kissinger's meeting with Mel Elfin
  -*Time*
- Circulation of evidence
  - *New Republic*
- US public opinion
  - Polls
    - Instructions to H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
- The President's television appearance
  - Timing
  - Vietnamization
  - Support
- Opposition to war
- Kissinger's staff meeting
- Prisoners of war [POW] meeting with relatives
  - Haig
  - The President's policies
    - Kissinger's explanation
      - Communist government in South Vietnam
      - Withdrawal deadline
    - Rejection by North Vietnam
- Kissinger’s schedule
  - Kissinger's meeting with congressional group
- Leaders meeting
  - Kissinger's talk
  - Purpose
    - John C. Stennis
- Political opposition
- The President's news summary
- People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Statement of April 10, 1972
    - Compared with Hanoi’s statement
    - Interpretation
      - The President’s hypothetical statement
      - Thieu
    - Democratic Republic of Vietnam [DRV]
    - Demands
- US-PRC relations
  - US attacks on Hanoi
  - Kissinger’s meeting with PRC ambassador
    - Michael J. Mansfield’s visit to PRC

Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon
- Briefing by Kissinger
Vietnam
- Public relations efforts
  - State Department
  - Melvin R. Laird and William P. Rogers
  - John A. Scali and Ronald L. Ziegler
  - Joseph C. Kraft column
    - Blame on Soviets
    - Soviet summit
    - Problems for democrats
  - Rowland Evans column
- Soviet summit
- Soviet foreign policy
  - Importance
  - Germany
  - PRC
- US-Soviet Union relations
  - India-Pakistan War

Alastair Buchan
- Conversation with Kissinger
- Vietnam
  - US responsibility
    - Consequences of defeat
- Lectures to Council on Foreign Relations
  - Defense of the President's policies
    - Balance of power policies
    - Criticism of liberals
- Liberals
  - United Nations [UN]
  - North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]

Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Kissinger’s meeting with Robert S. McNamara
    - Kissinger’s conversation with John B. Connally
      - Call to Otto E. Passman
  - NATO
    - Soviets
- Miscalculation
  - Cambodia
- Laos
- Edward M. Kennedy's criticism
- Mistake
- [Julie Nixon Eisenhower]
  - Appearance on Mike Douglas Show
- Today Show
  - Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
  - Tone
    - Compared to Laos operation
    - Wording
- The president's critics
  - Views
    - Hegemony
    - Balance of power
      - Relationship with alliances
        - Nineteenth century
    - Intellectual establishment
      - Council on Foreign Relations
      - Failure of ideas, ideals and heroes
        - John F. Kennedy
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - Hanoi press
  - US success
    - Compared with Laos operation
      - Level of commitment
  - Miscalculations
    - Strength of South Vietnam
    - US unresponsiveness
- Weather
  - B-52 strikes
    - DMZ
    - Risks
      - Surface-to-air missile [SAM] concentrations
        - Hanoi

Kissinger’s schedule
  - WSAG meeting
    - Report

Vietnam
  - The President's speech
-Scheduling
-Value compared to risks
  -Domestic and foreign policy

Canadian speech
  -Draft
    -Delivery to the President
      -Time

Kissinger left at 10:09 am.

Conversation No. 706-2

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: 10:10 am - 12:35 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman.

The President's schedule
  -Meeting with Arthur F. Burns
  -Trip to Camp David
    -Departure
    -Reasons
  -Leaders meeting
    -Burns
    -Time and day
  -Thursday
    -Meeting with Hugh Scott and Michael J. Mansfield
      -Change of day
      -Time of day
      -Camp David
      -Change of day
      -Location
        -Executive Office Building [EOB]
  -Henry A. Kissinger's presence
  -Photograph
    -Location
-Map Room
  -Compared to library, EOB

-Free time
-Afternoon
  -Changes
    -Meeting with Frank DeMarco, Jr.
      -The President's tax returns
    -Youth conference
-Camp David
-Canadian trip
  -Departure
-Afternoon meetings
  -Changes in time and day
    -Advantages
      -Canadian trip
-Camp David trip
  -Cancellation of meetings
    -W. Kenneth Riland

-Camp David trip
-Secretaries
-Canadian trip
-Speech
  -Kissinger
-Secretaries
  -Florida trip
    -Alexander P. Butterfield
-Camp David
-Secretaries
  -Nellie L. Yates
  -Terry Goodwin [sp?]?
  -Unknown person
    -Competence
  -Marjorie P. Acker and Rose Mary Woods
-The President's speech
  -Revisions
-Unknown secretary
  -Age
  -Experience
  -Background
    -Loyalties
-Yates
-Experience
-Work with previous presidents
  -Lyndon B. Johnson
  -John F. Kennedy
  -Dwight D. Eisenhower
-Integrity
-Loyalty

White House staff
-Secretaries
  -Background
    -Compared with Susan Lichtman at International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]
-Unclear secretary
  -Loyalty
  -Typing skills
    -Speed
    -Yates and Woods
    -Ages
  -Composure
-Acker
  -Competence
  -Knowledge of White House
-Woods
  -Staff
    -Competence
  -Competence

The President's schedule
-Scott and Mansfield meeting
  -Arrangements
    -David N. [Parker]
    -Day

Haldeman talked with an unknown person at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2A]
-Time
-Kissinger's clearance
-Location
-Cocktails

-Invitation
-Kissinger's presence

[End of telephone conversation]

Kissinger's meeting with White House staff
-Briefing
  -Robert B. Semple, Jr. article
  -Ronald L. Ziegler
  -A leak
    -Source
  -Kissinger's briefing
  -Robert H. Finch and Herbert G. Klein
    -Absence

Vietnam
-Talking points
  -Kissinger
  -Klein
-North Vietnamese offensive
  -Press reports
    -Unknown South Vietnamese commander
    -Statement
    -Tank column

International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT] case
-Press reports
  -A session of a committee
    -Confusion
    -William R. Merriam
      -Staff
      -Confusing statements

-Testimony
  -Robert C. Wilson

-Senators
  -Receipt of transportation
  -Edward J. Gurney
Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

- Senate testimony
  - Henry E. Petersen
  - Conclusion
  - Date
  - Administration tactics
- Senate
  - James O. Eastland
  - Fred R. Harris
  - Caucus
  - Samuel J. Ervin, Jr.
  - Letter writing campaign
  - Charles W. Colson

Economy
- Food prices
  - John D. Ehrlichman
  - News summary
- Connally
- Unknown person

ITT case
- Flanigan statement
  - Scott
  - John W. Dean, III
  - Letter to Senate
- Flanigan's involvement in case
  - Richard W. McLaren
  - Richard J. Ramsden
  - Republican National Convention
  - Denial
  - Flanigan's reaction

The President's schedule
- Stopover on trip to Soviet Union
  - Poland
  - Announcement
  - Day
- Ireland
  - Kissinger's view
  - Britain
  - Northern Ireland
- Switzerland and Austria
- Azores
  - Logistics
  - Flying time
- Switzerland
  - Kissinger's view
  - Zurich and Geneva
    - Facilities
  - Geneva
    - Political connotations
    - United Nations [UN]
- Majorca
- Spain
  - Protocol
  - Majorca
  - Bases
- Portugal
- Majorca
- Monaco
- Majorca
  - Spanish Foreign Minister
  - Distance from Moscow
    - Madrid
    - Zurich
- Greece
- US base
  - Mediterranean
- Haldeman's call to Lt. Gen. Vernon A. Walters

Haldeman talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2B]

[See Conversation no. 22-102]

[End of telephone conversation]

The President's schedule
  - Canadian trip
    - The President's speech
Haldeman talked with Walters at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2C]

[See Conversation No. 22-103]

[End of telephone conversation]
-Zurich
-Advantages
-Swiss reaction
  -Cooperation
    -Kissinger’s view
  -Clearances
  -Logistics
-Facilities
-Neutrality
-Ireland
-Views

Soviet trip
  -Return trip
  -Arrangements
    -Warsaw
-Stopover
  -Switzerland
    -Lucerne
    -Arrival and departure
-Length of stay
-Itinerary
  -Departure from US
    -Time
  -Arrival in Switzerland
  -Departure from Switzerland
    -Time
  -Amount of sleep
  -News reports
    -Compared with Hawaiian trip
  -Time change adjustments
-Switzerland
  -Lucerne
  -Geneva
-Austria
  -Kissinger’s view
  -Salzburg
  -Bruno Kreisky
    -Meeting with the President
  -Advantages
  -Kissinger
The President talked with the White House operator at an unknown time between 10:10 and 10:49 am.

[Conversation no. 706-2D]

[See Conversation no. 22-104]

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet Trip
  -Stopover
    -Austria
      -Vienna
      -Salzburg
    -Advantages
      -NATO
      -Compared with Spain
      -Neutrality
    -Switzerland

Haldeman talked with Kissinger between 10:49 and an unknown time before 10:54 am; the president talked with Kissinger between an unknown time after 10:49 and 10:54 am.

[Conversation No. 706-2E]

[See Conversation No. 22-105]

[End of telephone conversation]

Soviet trip
  -Stopover
    -Austria
      -Kissinger
      -Karl J. Gruber
      -Meeting with Kreisky
      -Compared with a trip to Ireland
        -John A. (“Jack”) Mulcahy
      -Importance
-Pro-US policies
- Salzburg
- Welcome
-Ireland
  - Northern Ireland
  - The President's previous trip
-Austria
  - Purpose
  - Meeting with Kreisky
  - Social events
  - Working stop
  - Church service
-Possible itinerary
  - Church service
    - The President's attendance
    - Baptist church
    - Synagogue
    - Baptist church
    - The President's attendance
      - Call to William F. ("Billy") Graham
  - Graham
    - People's Republic of China [PRC]
  - Kissinger
-Tomb of unknown soldier
  - Formal ceremony
  - Departure from Moscow
  - Soviet veterans
- Church service
  - Call to Graham
-Schedule
  - Review
  - Advance party
  - Arrival
  - Banquet
  - Ceremonial calls
  - Meetings
  - Ballet
  - Wednesday
    - Meetings
    - Evening
      - Dinner with Leonid I. Brezhnev
-Thursday
  -Leningrad visit
  -Sight-seeing
  -Ballet
-Friday
  -Return to Moscow
  -Meeting
-Saturday
  -Meeting
  -Communiqué
  -Banquet
-Sunday
  -Church
  -Soviet television address
    -Time
      -Kissinger
      -US time
      -Translation
    -Method
-The President's first visit
  -*Six Crises* account
    -Compared with State Department account
-The President's schedule
  -Press conference
  -Monday
    -Baku
  -Tuesday
    -Teheran
  -Thursday, June 1, 1972
    -Arrival in US
  -Press conference in Moscow
    -Kissinger, William P. Rogers and Connally
  -Attendees
  -Schedule
  -Return to US
-Network coverage
  -Equal time
    -Ronald L. Ziegler's statement
    -John M. Ashbrook
    -California primary
    -Paul N. McCloskey, Jr.
- The President's press conference on return
  - Day
  - Timing
    - California primary
    - Democrats
    - Public opinion
  - Announcement
    - Foreign policy issues
    - Ziegler's statement
  - Discussion of trip
    - Compared with PRC trip
  - Interest
    - Summit talks
    - Vietnam
  - Location
  - Arrangements
    - Thelma C. (“Pat”) Nixon's schedule
  - Staff
    - Ziegler
    - Constance M. (“Connie”) Stuart
    - Klein

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 15s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 7

-Stuart
  - Work with Ziegler
  - Ziegler
    - Control of news
  - Press
    - Number
-Soviets
-Kissinger
-PRC trip
-Yuli M. Vorontsov and Soviet press attaché
  -Meeting with Ziegler and Dwight L. Chapin
-Selection
  -Ziegler
  -Favor for friends
    -Press pools
    -1972 campaign

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Ziegler entered at 11:12 am.

Soviet trip
  -Soviet press attaché
  -Meeting with Ziegler
  -Number of US newsmen present
  -Press conference in Soviet Union
    -Number
    -Soviet press
  -Press
    -Number
      -The President's Vice Presidential trip
        -Six Crises
        -Maximum
          -Advantages
  -Selection
    -PRC trip
- Boston Globe and Newsday
- St. Louis Post-Dispatch
- Exclusion
- St. Louis Globe-Democrat
- Buffalo Evening News
- Dallas Morning Herald
- Pro-administration papers
  - 1972 campaign
- Networks
- Wire services
- Radio
- John F. Osborne
  - Exclusion
  - The President's news summary
    - Kissinger
    - Osborne
    - Hugh S. Sidey
- Enemies
  - Compared with Dwight D. Eisenhower's administration
    - James C. Hagerty
    - New York Times
- Retaliation
- Number
  - Soviet views
- Selection
  - Limitations
    - Compared with other trips
      - Romania, Yugoslavia, Italy, France
    - Ziegler's conversation with Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
    - PRC trip
- Number
  - Limitations
    - Disadvantages
    - Economic constraints of press
- Selection
  - PRC trip
    - Newday and Boston Globe
- Press corps
  - Attitudes
- Limitations
  - Problems
-Ziegler's conversation with Dobrynin
-Previous Presidential trips

Press

-Critics
-Kennedy
-Franklin D. Roosevelt
-Osborne and Sidey
-Finch, Klein, Ehrlichman and Kissinger

-Supporters
-Frank van der Linden
-Nashville Banner
-Victor Lasky
-News summaries
-Osborne
-Van der Linden
-Nicholas P. Thimmesch
-Cultivation
-Ehrlichman, Kissinger and George P. Shultz

-Critics
-Winston S. Churchill
-Kissinger
-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew
-James Keogh
-Book [President Nixon and the Press]

-Supporters
-Number
-Cultivation

-Critics
-Martin Schram
-Exclusion from Ziegler's office
-Charles G. (“Bebe”) Rebozo
-Robert B. Semple, Jr.
-Networks
-Kissinger
-Work with Joseph C. Kraft

-Supporters
-Rowland Evans
-Chalmers M. Roberts

-Critics
-Dealings with Kissinger
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Evans
-Dealings with administration officials
  -Egotism
    -Sans Souci
    -Georgetown

Supreme Court
  -“Nixon Court”
  -Tendency toward liberalism
    -Potter Stewart
      -Conservatism
      -Liberalism
    -Warren E. Burger

Nancy Ziegler
  -Visit to Kentucky
    -Relatives
      -Support for administration's policies on Vietnam
        -Richard G. Kleindienst hearing

Soviet trip
  -Press
    -Number
      -Limitation
        -Soviets
    -Supporters
      -Inclusion
        -Reader's Digest
      -Small papers
        -Subsidy
      -William S. White
      -Bantam Books
      -Book on trip
        -Forward by the President
      -US News and World Report
    -Press conference on TV
      -Timing
        -California primary
      -Foreign policy
        -Report to nation
      -Equal time on TV
- New York Times and networks
  - Ashbrook
  - Writing press
  - Networks
  - Prime time television
  - Foreign policy
  - Length

- Return to US
- Press conference upon return
  - Timing
  - California primary
- Ziegler
  - Arrangements

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 9s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15

Press relations
- The President’s memorandum
  - Reports on biological warfare treaty signing at State Department
    - Networks
    - Setting
      - Flags
      - The President's appearance
  - The President's remarks
  - Dobrynin

Soviet press
- Soviet Life editor
  - Reports
  - Kissinger
-Mrs. Nixon
  -Tea with Mrs. Dobrynin
    -Kissinger
    -Press release

Press relations
  -Evans and Kraft
    -Criticism of the President
      -Dealings with Soviets
        -Summit
        -PRC
        -Middle East
        -German Treaty

Soviet Union
  -Soviet Summit
    -Dobrynin
    -William E. Jenner
  -The President's Soviet trip
    -PRC trip
    -Arrangements
    -Soviet people
      -Crowds
      -Interest in the President's visit
    -Stopover
      -Salzburg, Austria
      -Meeting with Kreisky
    -Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] conferences
      -Hubert H. Humphrey
      -Vienna, Austria
  -Leningrad
  -Baku
  -Stop in Teheran, Iran
  -Stop in Poland
    -Crowds
    -PRC
  -Drama of trip
    -PRC trip
  -The President's first trip
    -Six Crises
      -Atmosphere
Ziegler left at 11:39 am.

Press relations
   -Handling of critics
     -Ziegler's opinion
     -Osborne
     -Sidey
       -Readership

The President left at an unknown time after 11:39 am.

[No conversation]

The President entered at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

Biological warfare treaty signing
   -The President's speech
     -Haldeman's presence
     -Reading by Haldeman and staff

The President's schedule
   -Canadian speech
   -Dinner in Philadelphia
     -The President's note to John Cardinal Krol
       -Henry C. Cashen, II
     -Absence from dinner
     -Trip to Soviet Union
     -The President's trip to Poland
       -Visit with Krol
       -Announcement
         -Timing

Agnew
   -Lack of media coverage
   -Trip to Fort Campbell, Kentucky
   -Speech to California Republican Assembly [CRA]
-News summary
-Television report
  -Columbia Broadcasting System [CBS]
-Newspaper story

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 19s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 20

Tricia Nixon Cox
  -Schedule
    -Mike Douglas Show appearance
    -Table tennis matches
    -Space shot
      -Time
      -Audience
    -Table tennis match
      -Audience
      -Left wing
      -Homosexuals
    -Tennis audience
      -Make-up
      -Left wing
      -Homosexuals
      -Bill Tilden
      -Compared with opera audiences
      -Attire
    -Television
      -Value
      -Location
Vietnam
- North Vietnamese offensive
- Outcome
  - Length
  - Critics
    - Fear of US success
    - Caution
- Tet offensive
  - Donald Oberdorfer, Jr.’s book
    - Victory for US
    - Enemy losses
  - Compared with 1972 offensive
    - Viet Cong elements
    - North Vietnamese elements
- Buddhists
  - Support for Nguyen Van Thieu government
- The President’s critics
  - Caution
- North Vietnamese offensive
  - South Vietnamese victories and defeats
    - I Corps
  - Weather
  - B-52s
    - Symbolism
- Naval gunfire
  - Effect on North Vietnam
- Public reactions
  - “Hawks”
  - Show of strength
  - College campuses
- Apathy
- Minnesota and University of California at Los Angeles [UCLA]
- Vietnam
- Marches
  - PRC
  - Bombing in North Vietnam
  - April 22, 1972 national march
  - Timing
    - Possible coordination with North Vietnam
    - The President’s November 3, 1969 speech
- Problems
  - Lack of support
- Antiwar protests
  - Size and scope
  - Chicago

ITT case
- Media coverage
  - Advantages
  - Public interest
    - POWs
- Bombers
  - Demilitarized zone [DMZ]
  - POWs
- North Vietnamese actions
  - US reaction
    - Blockade
      - Soviet reactions
        - Effect on Summit
  - Mining
    - Option
    - Soviet ships
- Options other than nuclear weapons or US ground forces
- The President's Biological Warfare Treaty signing statement
  - George R.S. Baring [Earl of Cromer]
  - Dobrynin
Domestic issues
  - Ehrlichman
    - Food prices
    - Crime
    - Note from the President
    - Speeches
      - Work with White House
      - White House staff
  - Speeches
    - Scheduling
    - Material for surrogates
      - Edward L. Morgan
      - John N. Mitchell
  - Ehrlichman
    - Weekly meetings with surrogates
    - Inspirations
  - Kissinger
    - Briefings
    - Frequency
  - Speakers
    - Self-confidence
    - Ehrlichman
      - Self-confidence
    - Attacks on opposition
      - White House involvement
  - Ehrlichman
  - Leadership meetings
  - Food prices
    - Decline
      - Wholesale prices
  - Leadership
    - The President
    - Price Board
    - John B. Connally
  - Publicity
    - Connally
    - Amount
  - Drugs
    - Marijuana
    - The President's speech
      - Preparations
Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Ehrlichman

-Crime
-Prices
-Busing
-Drugs
-Relation to crime
-Busing
-Prices, inflation, labor

Foreign policy
-The President's leadership
-Emphasis

Vietnam
-Media
-B-52 strikes
-The President's responsibility
-Credit to the President
-The President's leadership
-Lyndon B. Johnson
-Location of fleet
-B-52s
-Results
-Credit for the President's success
-Compared with Cambodia
-Melvin R. Laird and Rogers
-Statements
-Rogers
-Caution
-Kissinger
-Defense of Administration
-Possible talk with Haldeman
-Negotiations
-The President's speech
-Kissinger and William L. Safire
-Negotiations
-William J. Porter
-Canadian speech
-Soviet Union

The President's trip to Canada
- Demonstrators
  - Restrictions
    - Canadian Mounted Police
  - Aleksei N. Kosygin’s experience
- Reception in Parliament
- Itinerary in Ottawa

Vietnam
- Rogers
  - Defense of Administration
  - Caution
  - Edmund S. Muskie
  - Personal concerns
    - Press
    - Long-range interests

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 1m 10s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 25

Economic issue
- Unemployment figures
- Positive aspect
- Prices
- Unemployment
- Prices
  - Food
- Big business
- Food prices
  - Need for dramatic action
    - Freeze
-Protection
-Options
-Timing
-Eventual decline
-Meat prices
-Jawboning
-Effects
-Inflation
-Herbert Stein's memorandum
-Problems
-Midyear report
-Timing
-Democratic National Convention
-Connally's response
-Advantages
-Press
-Speakers

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 11:39 am.

Refreshment

The President's schedule
-Executive Office Building [EOB] office

Economy
-The President's midyear report
-Connally's view
-Call from Haldeman

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 12:35 pm.

Government
-Disenchantment
-Youth
-The President's trips to PRC and Soviet Union
-Appeal

Media
-Problem for administration
-Coverage of the President
  -Evaluation
  -Reasons
-Favorable coverage
  -Administration's efforts
  -Bad press
    -Compared with Kennedy
  -Publicity concerning PRC trip
    -Ziegler
-Publicity for administration
  -PRC trip
    -New China Hands momento
      -Ziegler
      -White House staff
      -Secret Service
      -Airplane crews
    -Ziegler
      -Social events for press
      -Impact and worth
-Klein
-Rogers
  -Social contacts with press
    -Newsmen's response
-Dealings with the President on a social level
  -Supporters
    -Van der Linden
  -Critics
    -Cynicism
  -Supporters
  -Critics
    -Reactions
    -Ziegler
-White House Correspondents Association
  -Edgar A. Poe, president
    -Gridiron president
    -Lack of control
    -Gridiron dinner
      -Conversation with Haldeman
        -The President's absence
  -Soviet trip
    -White House subsidy
NIXON PRESIDENTIAL MATERIALS STAFF

Tape Subject Log
(rev. 10/06)

Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-Ziegler
-Trip expenses
  -Air fare
  -Hotel
-The President's plane
  -Waiver of charges
    -Confidentiality
-South Carolina trip
  -Funeral
-Gridiron dinner
  -The President's absence

Weather
  -Spring in Washington, DC
    -Cherry blossoms
    -Festival

The President’s schedule
  -Arbor Day
    -Tree plantings

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 16s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 26

The President as head of non-government organizations
  -Boy Scouts of America
    -Meetings
      -Frequency
  -Red Cross
    -Television
    -Tricia Nixon Cox
Conv. No. 706-2 (cont.)

-United Way

The President and Haldeman left at 12:35 pm.

Conversation No. 706-3

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 12:35 pm and 2:56 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown persons [Secret Service agents] met.

[Unintelligible]

The President’s location
-Executive Office Building [EOB]

Stephen B. Bull entered at an unknown time after 12:35 pm.

Unknown agent

The President’s location
-EOB

The conversation was cut off at an unknown time before 2:56 pm.

Conversation No. 706-4

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: 2:57 pm - 3:03 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Alexander P. Butterfield; the recording began at an unknown time while the meeting was in progress.
The President's schedule
- Meeting with Clark MacGregor, Henry A. Kissinger and Democrats
  - Briefing
  - Day
  - John C. Stennis
  - George H. Mahon
  - F. Edward Hebert
  - Hawkish Democrats
  - Kissinger's briefing
- Memoranda to be read

John D. Ehrlichman entered at 3:02 pm.

- Meeting with Ehrlichman and Peter G. Peterson
  - Kenneth R. Cole, Jr.'s attendance
  - Memorandum to be read

Butterfield and Ehrlichman left at 3:03 pm.

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: 3:06 pm - 5:05 pm
Location: Oval Office

The President met with Peter G. Peterson, John D. Ehrlichman, Peter M. Flanigan, Kenneth R. Cole, Jr. and Stephen B. Bull; the White House photographer was present at the beginning of the meeting.

Greetings

John B. Connally
  - Forthcoming meeting with the President
  - Delay

Bull left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Commerce Department
  - Undersecretary
-James T. Lynn

Economy
-Foreign trade
-Commercial attaches
-Legislation before Congress

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 3:06 pm.

Refreshment

Sanchez left at an unknown time before 3:48 pm.

Economic issues
-Commercial attaches
-Problems with pending legislation
-Foreign trade
-Foreign Service officers
-Indoctrination on economic issues
-State Department
-Lack of leadership on economic issues
-Undersecretaries
-Textiles
-Agriculture

-Foreign trade
-Leadership
-Attaches

US-Soviet Union relations
-Henry A. Kissinger
-Flanigan
-Trade
-Linkage
-Soviet needs
-Commercial deals
-Raw materials
-Capital demands
-Oil and gas
-Scope
-Return
-Soviet debts
-Gradual increase
  -Export-Import [Ex-Im]
  -Most favored nation status [MFN]
-Raw materials
  -Aleksei N. Kosygin
  -US credits
  -Soviet gains
-Resources
  -Capital demands of Soviets
-Anatoliy F. Dobrynin
  -Conversations with Peterson
-Peterson's meeting with Soviet Trade Minister, Nikolay S. Patolichev
  -Arrangements
  -Ex-Im and MFN status
  -Talks
-Issues
  -Ex-Im agreements
  -Credits
  -MFN status
  -1972 election
  -Congress

Foreign trade
  -Poland
  -Yugoslavia and Rumania
    -US attitudes
    -Kissinger
  -Poland
    -The President's forthcoming trip
-Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania
  -Visits to US
-Eastern European nations
  -Contacts with US
-Soviet trade
  -Peterson memorandum
    -Recommendations
  -Donald McI. Kendall
  -Benefits to US
    -US businessmen
    -Sales
  -Credit and investment guarantees
Energy
- Flanigan
- Ehrlichman
- Problems
  - Long-range view
  - Politics

Economy
- Maritime Administration
  - Andrew E. Gibson
    - Study of imports
      - Maritime implications
- Energy
  - Oil imports
    - Percentage
    - Maritime fleet
      - Projected size
      - Supertankers
        - Japanese
        - Economic advantages
        - Dock facilities
          - Political problems
            - Delaware
          - Problems
            - Subsidies
- Domestic problems
  - Incentives
  - Environment
- Supertankers
  - Ports of call
    - Canada and the Bahamas
  - Docking problems
  - Japan
    - Australia
- Recommendations
  - George P. Shultz
    - Budget problems
  - Investment areas
    - Welfare
    - Hard and soft goods
-Investments
  -Welfare
  -Summer youth programs
  -Maurice H. Stans
  -Day care centers
  -Office of Economic Opportunity [OEO]
  -Democratic political pressures
  -Conflicts between business and welfare
-Energy
  -Supertankers
    -Shultz
  -Docking problem
    -Pacific Northwest
      -Local resistance
    -Maine
    -Gulf states
      -Louisiana and Texas
      -Off-shore leasing

Energy
  -Alaska
  -Political problems
    -Environment
    -Costs to consumers
    -Domestic ownership
    -Petersons' job
      -Budget
        -Shultz
      -Monitoring issue
        -Cole
        -Business representation
      -Environment
        -1972 election
  -Public awareness
    -Increase
      -Publicity
      -Business community
  -Rogers C. B. Morton
    -Testimony
      -News summary
      -Power shortages
Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Gibson
-Power stations
  -Construction
    -Objections
      -Compared with Vietnam War
-Peterson's role
  -1972 election
  -Stans
  -Links to liberals

Foreign trade
  -US competitiveness
  -Information gathering
  -Steel output
    -Japanese
  -Japanese
    -Strategic industries
      -Studies
        -Machine tools, steel
        -Depreciation, write-offs
  -Study program
    -Commerce Department
      -Connally
    -Depreciation policies
    -Strategic industries
      -Foreign government support
    -US tax reform bill
      -Congress
      -Connally
        -1969 talk with the President at San Clemente
        -Cattle
  -Reform
    -Connally's role
    -Study program
    -Depreciation policies
      -Problems
        -Housing
        -ADR
          -Investment tax credit
  -German and Japanese policies
    -Successes
-New jobs
  -Speech
  -Publicity for reform
-Study for Congress
  -Investment tax credit
  -Japanese
  -Responsiveness
-Tax reforms
  -Criticism
    -Rich compared to poor
  -Jobs
  -Treasury conservatism
    -Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
    -Peterson's meeting with Connally
  -Tax lawyers

Technology
  -Industrial technology
    -Study by Commerce Department
    -Patents
      -US government ownership
        -Commercial production
      -Review of policies
        -Costs
          -Research and development [R&D]
      -Nonexclusive provisions
  -Patent policies
    -State of the Union address
    -Incentives for technology
      -Cost sharing
    -Government patents
      -Commercial production
      -Government R&D
        -Roadblocks
        -William M. Magruder
  -Commerce Department
  -Aggressiveness
    -Salesmanship
      -1972 election
      -Business
      -Jobs
-Prices
-Job creation
-R&D
-Emphasis on jobs
  -Environment
-Necessity to sell
  -Ehrlichman, Charles W. Colson and H. R. (“Bob”) Haldeman
-Image of business
  -Administration's image
  -International Telephone and Telegraph [ITT]

Environment
  -National Industrial Pollution group
    -Comments
      -Growth
      -Club of Rome study
      -Quality of life programs
      -Costs
        -Office of Management and Budget [OMB]
        -Health, welfare, mass transit
      -Long-range costs
        -Source of funds
        -Projections
        -Economic growth
        -Zero-growth advocates

Economy
  -Productivity Commission
    -Shultz
      -Membership
  -Popular appeal
    -Advertising Council
      -Identification of the President with campaign
    -Cost-wage push
      -Range of problems
        -Germany and France
  -Productivity
    -The President’s August 15, 1971 statement
    -Popular appeal
    -International problem
- Bargaining system
  - Phase II
  - Businessmen's doubts
  - Strikes
  - Costs
- Strikers
  - Benefits
- Food chains
  - Meeting with Connally
- Bargaining system
  - Reform
  - Post-election changes
  - Shultz's ideas
  - Dangers
  - Pre-election attacks against labor
- Minority economic development
  - Appeal to voters
  - Political appeal
  - "Bridge to dignity"
- Problems
  - Peterson's speeches
    - Chicago
    - New York
  - Lack of knowledge in public
  - Bold steps
    - Prominent blacks to sell program
      - Stars
      - Athletes
- Dinner
  - New York
- Inner cities
  - Deterioration
  - Economic stimulation
  - Unknown person's suggestion
    - Focus on business
      - 1969 campaign theme
  - [Forename unknown] Messig [sp?]
  - Stans
- Productivity
  - Peterson's recommendations
    - Advertising Council
Connally, Arthur F. Burns, Shultz and Frederic V. Malek entered at 3:48 pm.

Greetings

Connally
  -Health

Economy
  -Connally's meeting with Peterson
    -International competition
      -Productivity
    -Environment

Peterson, Ehrlichman, Flanigan and Cole left at 3:49 pm.

[General conversation]

Federal Reserve Board [FRB]
  -Vacancy
    -Number
      -Sherman J. Maisel
      -Andrew F. Brimmer
        -Ambassadorship
          -Removal
        -Black ambassadors
          -Position security
            -Election
        -Rogers
          -United Nations [UN]
            -Secretary General
          -Confirmation
          -European post
          -African post

Jerome H. Holland
  -Background
- College
  - Football

- Tenure
- Post
- Future

FRB
- Vacancy
  - Candidates
    - Names
  - Districts and regions
    - California
- Candidates
  - List
  - Jeffrey M. Bucher
  - Ward C. Krebs
  - Bucher and Krebs
    - Origins
    - Age
  - Selection
    - Criteria
      - Compared with Supreme Court
        - Age of justices
          - Lewis F. Powell, Jr.
          - William H. Rehnquist
        - Youth
      - Length of term
      - Age
        - Compared with Supreme Court justices
        - Earl Warren
        - Warren E. Burger
        - Harry A. Blackmun
        - Powell
- Bucher
  - Aspirations
    - Short-term
      - Banking job
    - Experience on board
- Krebs
  - Duration of term
- Criteria
-Banking background
-Krebs
  -Experience in banking
-Bucher
  -Youth
-Requirements
  -Judgment
  -Maturity
  -Longevity
  -Bucher
    -Other positions in second term
-Krebs
-Bucher
  -Longevity on board
  -Burns's influence
-[John E. Sheehan]
-Bucher
  -Potential
-Krebs
  -Interview with Burns
    -Compared with Bucher
-Bucher
  -Harry J. Volk
  -Asa V. Call and Charles D. (“Tex”) Thornton
  -United California Bank
  -Bank of America
  -Security First National Bank
  -United California Bank
-Volk
  -Prudential Insurance Company
  -Robert H. Volk
-Burns's preference
  -Ernest C. Arbuckle
    -David Packard's work
    -Background
      -Stanford University
    -Present position
    -Krebs
-Candidate selection
  -E. Penn James's and Malek's work
  -Brimmer case
-James L. Robertson  
  -Possible resignation  
-Robert C. Holland  
  -Position on board  
    -Political affiliations  
    -Respect in banking world  
    -Appointment  
  -Replacement for Robertson  
    -Pension  
    -Rules  
    -Age  
-Robertson  
  -Meeting with the President  
    -Sheehan's swearing-in  
  -Possible retirement  
  -Populism  
    -Support for small banks  
-Appointments  
  -Future make-up  
-Candidates  
  -Krebs  
  -Bucher  
    -Youth  
    -Work with Burns  
      -Compatibility  
    -The President’s talk with Burger  
-Conflicts within board  
  -Number of dissents  
-Alfred Hayes  
  -Work with Burns  
    -Hayes's staff  
-Candidates for vacancy  
  -Names  
  -Criteria  

Malek left at 4:13 pm.

Budget  
  -Information for the President  
    -Money supply and interest rates  
    -Wage and prices
-Deficit
-Decrease

Environment
-Commerce Department study
-Peterson
-Costs
-Quality of life programs
-Relation to economic growth
-Population
-World
-Daniel P. ("Pat") Moynihan
-US
-Stabilization
-The President's meeting with Peterson
-Oil imports
-US needs
-Supertankers
-Docking facilities
-Local resistance
-Texas
-Quality of life programs
-Family assistance
-Day care centers
-Costs
-Budget
-Environmental field
-Regulatory activity
-Proposition in California
-Loss of jobs if passed
-Edgar F. Kaiser
-Steel plants
-Peterson
-Political implications
-Need for economic growth

Economy
-Welfare programs
-Family Assistance Program [FAP]
-Education and health programs
-Summer youth programs
-FRB
-Peterson
  -Charles H. Percy
  -Change of attitude
  -Stans
-National Association of Businessmen [NAB]
-Optimism
-The President's meeting with Gordon E. Metcalf and John D. Harper
-Prices and stocks
  -Rate

Burns and Shultz left at 4:20 pm.

Connally
  -Health
  -Illness
    -Gen. Walter R. Tkach

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 3m 40s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 9

Connally's schedule
  -Trip to Texas
    -Stansville [?]
    -Dinner honoring Texas Supreme Court Chief Justice
      -Speech
    -Time off

Manolo Sanchez entered at an unknown time after 4:20 pm.

Refreshment
Sanchez left at an unknown time before 4:46 pm.

Connally
-Reports
  -World situation
  -Trip to Camp David
    -Idanell B. ("Nellie") Connally
  -The President's Canadian speech
  -Transportation
  -Rest
    -Camp David
    -Golf
-Work ethic
  -Speech
-Health

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11
[Personal Returnable]
[Duration: 1m 1s]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 11

The President's schedule
- Vietnam
  -Reports
    -News summary
  -Critical decisions
    -Conversation with Haldeman
Vietnam
  -Kissinger
  -Air Force
  -Naval gunfire
  -North Vietnamese offensive
    -Victory
      -Impact on Soviet Summit
      -Cancellation
    -Impact on foreign policy
  -India, Middle East and Europe
    -Soviet Union

Treaty on biological warfare
  -Effect
    -Great power restraint
      -The President's remarks at signing ceremony
  -Arms control
    -Great powers restraint
    -Soviet's views on Summit
      -Dobrynin

Vietnam
  -Navy
    -Fleet
      -Shelling of roads in North Vietnam
    -B-52 strikes
  -Polls
  -Critics
    -Edward M. Kennedy
  -Foreign policy

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 24s.]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 13
Economy

- Interest rates
  - Burns's policies
- Burns's work
  - Interest rates
  - Money supply
  - European problems
    - Paul A. Volcker's meetings
    - Press conferences
- The President's Canadian trip
  - Trade negotiations
  - Great Lakes agreement
  - The President's speech draft
    - Connally's review
- Pierre E. Trudeau
  - Reelection
- Quebec
  - Separatism
- Trudeau
  - Reelection campaign
- Connally's speech in Chicago to national broadcasters
  - Reaction
  - Business leaders
  - Location
  - Continental Plaza Hotel
  - Tourist Bureau
  - Dallas and Houston
  - Format
  - Agenda
    - Foreign policy, taxes, loopholes, productivity
- Taxes
  - Loopholes
    - Definition
  - Major reforms
    - Republican initiatives
    - Eisenhower and the President
    - Democratic interests
-George C. Wallace
-Loopholes
  -Creation of jobs
  -Home mortgage interests
    -Abolition
      -Opposition
    -Purpose of loophole
  -Municipal bonds
    -Support of cities
    -Abolition
      -Failures
  -Charitable contributions
    -Abolition
      -Impact
  -Capital gains
    -Dow-Jones Industrial Average
  -Depletion allowance
    -Energy crisis
    -Abolition
      -Disadvantages
  -Casualty losses
  -Estate taxes
  -Peterson
    -US competitive position
      -Depreciation allowance
        -Japanese and West German example
  -Change of position
    -Support for loopholes

BEGIN WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15
[Personal returnable]
[Duration: 6m 11s ]

END WITHDRAWN ITEM NO. 15
-ITT case
  -Relations with ITT
  -Vance Hartke

Taxation
  -Overwithholding
    -News summary
    -Agents of Internal Revenue Service [IRS]
    -Correction of problem
      -Timing
    -Public campaign
      -W-4 exemptions
      -Mailings
      -Shultz
  -Tax returns
    -IRS aid to average taxpayer
      -Publicity
        -Announcement of task force
  -IRS agents
    -Number
      -Customs Bureau in Florida
        -Agents
          -Sufficient number for job
    -Number for searches
      -Financing problems
  -Customs Bureau
    -Agents
      -Increase
      -Port officers
      -Value of inspections
        -Specific case
          -[Recent heroin seizure]
    -Budget and personnel cuts
  -Customs
  -IRS
    -Agents
      -Help for returns
        -Political benefits
        -Personnel available
    -Returns
- Johnnie M. Walters
- Survey of small professional preparers
  - H&R Block
  - Fraudulency rate
  - Costs of delinquency

ITT case
- Edmund S. Muskie charge
  - Corporate taxes
  - Validity of claim

Economic policies
- Food prices
  - Administration's actions
    - Albert E. Sindlinger poll
    - Support
    - Offensive stance
    - Sindlinger's conversation with Colson
  - Administration statements
    - Wholesale price index
      - Graham Purcell's hearings
    - News coverage
      - Administration's image
- Farmers
- Middlemen
  - Retailers
    - Safeway
    - Need for discussions
    - Profits
  - Actions before election
    - Freeze on food prices
      - Effect
      - Risks
      - Farm vote
    - Packers and producers
- Current state of economy
  - Unemployment
    - Level
    - Figures
  - State in October
  - Inflation
-Agitation of issue
  -Housewives
  -Networks
-Public statements
  -Frequency
  -Connally
-White House staffers
  -Marina von N. Whitman
-Mood of nation
  -Florida
  -Youth
    -Tricia Nixon Cox's assessment
      -Harvard University
      -Nostalgia
      -Stability and leadership
  -Kennedy and Muskie
    -Lack of support
-Unemployment
  -Figures
    -Analysis
      -Youth
      -New workers
      -Creation of jobs
-Positive perspective
  -Social changes
    -Wives and youth
      -Entrance into labor force
-Job seekers

Bull entered at an unknown time after 4:20 pm.

The President's meeting with Kissinger

Bull left at an unknown time before 5:05 pm.

Vietnam
  -North Vietnamese offensive
    -Aggression
      -Analysis
      -Compared with Laos and Cambodia
    -US public reaction
Conv. No. 706-5 (cont.)

-Bombing of North Vietnam
- US troops
- Hanoi and Haiphong
- Bombing of other cities and railroads
- US countermeasures
  - US choices
  - Consequences of failure
  - Credibility of foreign policy

The President and Connally left at 5:05 pm.

Conversation No. 706-6

Date: April 11, 1972
Time: Unknown between 5:05 pm and 11:59 pm
Location: Oval Office

Unknown men [Secret Service] and Manolo Sanchez met.

[Unintelligible]

Stephen B. Bull
- Door
- Alarm

The unknown men left at an unknown time before 11:59 pm.